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GALBA'S *PIETAS*, NERO'S VICTIMS AND THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS*

For Carl Nylander

"Now at long last our spirit revives". Throughout Roman society, the death of a tyrant elicited manifestations of mingled relief and anxiety, *pietas* and hatred. With due variation such periods of transition would in significant respects conform to a uniform pattern.¹ Revivals of liberty invariably engendered reassessments of the past.² Hence the emergence of a hostile tradition, denigrating what previously was praised. In extreme cases a *damnatio* ensued. The tyrant's statues came down, his images were destroyed, his inscriptions deleted. In others, they were merely cast into a merciful shadow.³

At such euphoric junctures, not only were tyrants consigned to oblivion, but high and low alike were demonstrative in emphasizing their unwavering alle-

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1 *Nunc demum redit animus*: Tac. Agr. 3 (translation by H. Mattingly). The literature on *damnatio* (a modern term) is vast and the tradition ancient: C. Nylander, "Earless in Nineveh: Who Mutilated 'Sargon's' Head?", *AJA* 84 (1980) 329ff. For surveys, see e.g. F. Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1936) and T. Pekáry, "Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft", in: M. Wegner (ed.), *Das römische Herrscherbild* (Berlin 1985) 134–143.

2 Revivals of *Libertas*: *CIL* 11.4170 = *ILS* 157 (after Sejanus); *CIL* 6.471 = *ILS* 238 (after Nero) and *CIL* 6.472 = *ILS* 274 (after Domitian); for related symbols in the coinage of the two latter periods, see A. U. Stylow, *Libertas und Liberalitas* (Diss., München 1972) 48–49; 54–55 and D. C. A. Shotter, "The Principate of Nerva", *Historia* 32 (1983) 221.

3 The destruction of images ranged from reworking (H. Jucker, "Iulisch-claudische Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts als 'Palimpseste'", *JDAI/R* 96 [1981] 236–316; M. Bergmann & P. Zanker, "*Damnatio memoriae*", *ibid.* 317–412 and J. Pollini, "*Damnatio memoriae* in stone", *AJA* 88 [1984] 547–555) to complex rituals of mutilation: H. Jucker, "Die Bildnisstrafen gegen den toten Caligula", *Festschrift Hausmann* (Tübingen 1982) 110–118 (blinding and drowning) and [Sen.] *Oct.* 794–800; Juv. 10.58–64 (dismembering and degradation).

giance to the better cause.⁴ By universal demand exiles were now recalled,⁵ *maiestas* trials abolished and *delatores* punished.⁶

"After an evil reign, the fairest dawn is the first": the initial euphoria often proved short-lived. The difficulties in defining as criminal, what yesterday had been legal, slowed down purges, ultimately bringing them to a halt. More than once the demand for scapegoats led to summary executions of the tyrant's freedmen and lowborn friends. By contrast, it was a common cause of indignation that members of the higher orders usually managed the transition from one reign to the other without serious problems. At an imperial banquet Domitian's successor Nerva wondered aloud what would have happened to the *delator* so and so, if he had survived Domitian. A guest supplied the obvious answer: "He would have been dining with us".⁷

In one area, however, rehabilitation was sure to produce a decisive break with the past. Under the yoke of tyranny it was impossible to perform the *officia pietatis* towards condemned friends, patrons or relatives. Now the record was set straight. Statues and monuments were a favoured means of fulfilling such sacred obligations. At Rome as elsewhere the victims of tyranny would at long last receive a proper burial. On inscriptions their names had often been erased. They were now reinscribed. And dedications to those who had been rehabilitated would again be on public display.⁸

4 Contrast Pliny stressing his intimacy with the relatives of the exiles and Tacitus insisting on his co-responsibility: *Ep.* 7.19.10; 9.13.1–2 and *Agr.* 45 with comments of R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 77; 25.

5 E. L. Grasmück, *Exilium. Untersuchungen zur Verbannung in der Antike* (Paderborn, München 1978); such instances of *clementia* (*Sen. Dial.* 11.13.2; *Tac. Ann.* 13.11.2) were popular (*Suet. Cal.* 15.4) and would augment the *invidia* against the foe of the exiles: *Tac. Ann.* 14.12.4.

6 Against R. A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* (München 1974), P. A. Brunt, "Did emperors ever suspend the law of 'maiestas'?", *Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di A. Guarino I* (Napoli 1984) 469–480 argues convincingly that Gaius, Nero and Domitian only abolished and/or reinstituted charges of *asebeia* in the restricted sense. The law of *maiestas* as such was never suspended.

7 *Optimus est post malum principem dies primus*: *Tac. Hist.* 4.42.6 (K. Wellesley). Executions of *minores* after Nero and Domitian: *Tac. Hist.* 2.10 and *Plin. Ep.* 9.13.4; punishment reflecting status: P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1970) 262–265 and F. Millar, "Condemnation to hard labour in the Roman Empire", *PBSR* 52 (1984) 124–147. For survivors like Aquillius Regulus, Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus, see *Plin. Ep.* 2.20.2; K. R. Bradley, "The career of Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus, Cos. II A.D. 74", *SO* 53 (1978) 171–181 and R. Syme, "Partisans of Galba", *Historia* 31 (1982) 480 = *Roman Papers IV* (Oxford 1988) 136. *Nobiscum cenaret*: *Plin. Ep.* 4.22.6.

8 On rehabilitation in the early empire, note the epitaphs of Agrippina and her son (n. 13) and *CIL* 6.31541 c; d; f; h = *ILS* 5923a; b; c; d (*tituli* of C. Asinius Gallus; all effaced under Tiberius, and subsequently reinscribed). From the period after Nero: *Tac. Ann.* 14.9

Such initiatives were often quick to materialize. Martial's commemoration of Paris, a popular actor murdered by Domitian, was published in December A.D. 96, i.e. within four months of Domitian's fall. By then Paris' tomb with Martial's verse epitaph was probably already a familiar landmark flanking the crowded *via Flaminia*.⁹

The aim of the present paper is to investigate an equally immediate but far more spectacular rehabilitation of the victims of tyranny, which took place shortly after the fall of Nero, during the short reign of Galba (June 68–15th January 69 A.D.). Those who benefited from the initiative were the members of the imperial family murdered by Nero. They were now granted a funeral in the Mausoleum of their deified ancestor Augustus.

The evidence for this ceremony is fragmentary and elusive. However, the recent publication of all the inscriptions from the Mausoleum provides a welcome opportunity to reassess the main testimony from the epitome of Dio, and then to discuss some numismatic and prosopographical evidence which seems helpful in elucidating the political purpose of Galba's symbolic gesture.¹⁰ The epilogue attempts to outline the impact of rehabilitation on the literature of the period.

I. Caligula and Galba at the Mausoleum: The Literary Evidence

Galba was not the first to employ the Mausoleum as the symbolic backdrop for a rehabilitation of the victims of tyranny. On his accession in A.D. 68, the emperor Gaius had organized a very similar funeral. To start with, it therefore seems useful to recapitulate what is known of this antecedent.

As the son of Germanicus and successor of Tiberius, Gaius inherited a political and moral dilemma. To uphold authority he could not allow that

(burial, in Campania); Suet. *Galba* 10 (images, in Spain); similarly, from Dalmatia: *tituli* of P. Anteius Rufus deleted after his condemnation in A.D. 66 and reinscribed after Nero's fall (Groag, *PIR*² A 731); the dedications from Delos (*SIG* 3ed. 811–12 = *IG* 12.5.757) to the Neronian exiles Glitius Gallus and his wife (*PIR*² G 184 and E 40) are probably also relevant. Since their son was *patrimus* and *matrimus* in A.D. 73/4, they probably survived the tyrant and regained their former status.

9 Suspected of being the empress' lover, Paris was murdered in A.D. 83: *Schol. Iuv. Sat.* 6.87; Martial 11.13 was published by December A.D. 96: O. Weinreich, "Martials Grabepigramm auf den Pantomimen Paris", *Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Akad.* 41.1 (1940) 5. The (post-Domitianic?) epitaph *CIL* 6.9785 = *ILS* 7779 for C. Tutilius Hostilianus (PHILOSOPHO STOICO ... PATRI OPTIMO) was surely similarly motivated. Hostilianus had been relegated under Vespasian: F. Buecheler, "Prosopographica", *RhM* 63 (1908) 194 = *Kleine Schriften* III (Berlin/Leipzig 1930) 387.

10 H. von Hesberg/S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus. Der Bau und seine Inschriften*, Bayr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, philol. – hist. Klasse, Abh., NF 108 (München 1994).

Tiberius be exposed to a *damnatio*. Yet simple *pietas* demanded that Gaius should avenge the old tyrant's foremost victims, his mother, Agrippina, and his brothers, Drusus and Nero.¹¹

A compromise was attempted. While Tiberius was accorded the posthumous honours that were his due, Gaius at the same time set great store on redressing the inequities suffered by his kin. Now, finally, they were accorded the funeral rites which Tiberius, with unrelenting severity, had denied them.

With demonstrative haste, "so that his *pietas* might shine the brighter", Gaius overcame the dangers of storms and sea travel to recover the ashes of his brother and mother from the islands to which they had been banished, Pontiae and Pandataria.¹² The emperor himself deposited the ashes in the urns. With great ceremony the urns were brought to Rome. The most illustrious members of the equestrian order assisted at the interment. Clad in a purplebordered toga and attended by lictors, Gaius deposited their remains in the tomb of Augustus. Contemporaries will have appreciated why the epitaphs of their urns carry no reference to Tiberius.¹³ Henceforth their foe no longer figured as their relative. And even if Gaius on the whole maintained a respectful stance, Tiberius' name and image were subsequently cast into shadow by the sheer profusion of dedications to Gaius' father and mother, brothers and sisters.¹⁴ Like the cere-

- 11 Revenge of a parent as a manifestation of *pietas*: Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.3; Suet. *Cal.* 12.3. On imperial *pietas* towards brothers and mothers, Val. Max. 5.5.3 and Tac. *Ann.* 14.3.3 (Nero intending to cover up the murder of Agrippina with a temple, altars and *cetera ostentandae pietati*).
- 12 *Quo magis pietas emereret*, Suet. *Cal.* 15; for the phraseology, cf. the *Senatus consultum* of A.D. 19 in the *Tabula Siarensis* (= AE 1984, 508) frg. 2 col. b prescribing that Germanicus be commemorated with bronze *tituli* QVO TESTATIO ESSET DRVSI CAESARIS PIETAS and QVO FACILIVS PIETAS OMNIVM ORDINVM ERGA DOMVM AVGVSTAM ... APPARERET; for discussions of the document, see J. Gonzalez & J. Arce (eds.), *Estudios sobre 'La Tabula Siarensis'* (Madrid 1988) and M.H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes I* (London 1996) 507ff. (with text and commentary).
- 13 On the funeral, see Suet. l. c.; Dio 59.3.5 (Boiss.) and S. Panciera, "Il corredo epigrafico del Mausoleo di Augusto", Hesberg/Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 10) 136–142 (with the epitaphs of Agrippina and Nero Caesar [CIL 6.886–7 = ILS 180 and 183] and a previously inedited fragment of an *elogium* for Agrippina, presumably from the façade of the Mausoleum); Nero and Drusus Caesar were Tiberius' *nepotes* prior to their disgrace (CIL 6.913 = ILS 182; AE 1980, 454). Officially, Agrippina was Tiberius' *nurus* (Vell. 2.130.4), but neither the dedications predating her fall nor her epitaph acknowledge the fact.
- 14 After his accession Gaius remained Tiberius' *nepos* (cf. e.g. CIL 2.4716 = ILS 193) and Tiberius his *avus*: cf. the Arvals sacrificing in the house [... Q]VAE FVIT TI(BERII) [CAE]SARIS AVI on May the 27th, A.D. 38 (AE 1983, 95). According to C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman History and Coinage 44 BC – AD 69* (Oxford 1987) 68, the early coinage may disclose abortive plans for a deification. Rather than acting on specific orders from Rome, it seems more likely, however, that the mint of Lugdunum simply anticipated a move that never came about: B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician* (London 1976) 221.

mony at the Mausoleum, this change of emphasis went far in suggesting that Tiberius' reign had been but an odious interregnum, depriving Augustus' "true" and "only" heirs of the position which was rightfully theirs.¹⁵

Some thirty years later, in the autumn A.D. 68, the Mausoleum became the backdrop for a similar ceremony. By then the dynasty was extinct. Yet Galba saw to it that the ashes of those of the imperial family murdered by Nero were deposited in the tomb of their imperial ancestor. Galba also took measures that their statues be re-erected.

The evidence for this second ceremony has until recently been ignored by discussions of the Mausoleum.¹⁶ Yet it does throw an interesting light on the symbolic status of Augustus' tomb. Like the funeral organized by Gaius, that of Galba is moreover highly informative as far as his political aspirations are concerned. As I wish to argue, it was a manifestation of *pietas* which served to assert the legitimacy of Galba's new regime.¹⁷

Galba's display of *pietas* evokes a grander past. Always a virtue of central importance for the Romans, *pietas* had from early on been recognized as a powerful means of announcing a programme and declaring an allegiance. A recent discovery reveals that the army of Sertorius made a point of asserting the *pietas* of its rebel leader. In the Civil Wars the potential of this war-cry was developed to the full. At various points Mark Antony, Octavian and Sextus Pompeius all claimed that theirs was the morally legitimate cause.¹⁸

- 15 Gaius' dynastic policy: W. Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius* (Berlin 1978) 179ff. and A. A. Barrett, *Caligula* (London 1989) 17–42 (with previous literature). Dynastic claims: Tac. *Ann.* 3.4.2 *solum Augusti sanguinem* (the Roman *plebs* of Agrippina and her sons); similarly, Agrippina herself (4.52.2) *se imaginem veram (sc. divi Augusti) caelesti sanguine ortam* (in a quarrel with Tiberius).
- 16 Zonaras 11,13 = Dio 64.3.4c (Boiss.). The reference was not discussed by H. Jordan & C. Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* I.3 (Berlin 1907) 616–17; O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1913) 461; S. B. Platner & T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1929) 334; G. Q. Giglioli, *Capitolium* 6 (1930) 547; J. Weiss, *RE* XIV.2 (1930) 2409; G. Lugli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio* III (Roma 1938) 209–10; *Carta Archeologica di Roma* II (Firenze 1964) 90–92 and L. Attilia, "Il Mausoleo di Augusto", in A. M. Reggiani (ed.) *Roma repubblicana dal 270 a. C. all'età augustea* (Roma 1987) 31, but see now Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 83.
- 17 On the revolt, see e.g. P. A. Brunt, "The revolt of Vindex and the Fall of Nero", *Latomus* 18 (1959) 531–59 = *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 9–33; Syme, "Partisans" (as in n. 7) and M. T. Griffin, *Nero. The End of a Dynasty* (London 1984) 185–234. J. Sancer, *Galba, ou l'armée face au pouvoir* (Paris 1983) is mainly a narrative with bibliography pre-dating 1974.
- 18 Inscription: F. B. Lloris, "La *pietas* de Sertorio", *Gerión* 8 (1990) 211–226; Plutarch's emphasis on Sertorius' φιλοπατρία (*Sert.* 22.9) is probably relevant here. On the slogan in general: T. Ulrich, "*Pietas* (*pious*) als politischer Begriff im römischen Staate bis zum Tode des Kaisers Commodus", *Historische Untersuchungen* 6 (Breslau 1930); J. Liegle, "*Pietas*", *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 42 (1932) 59–100 = H. Oppermann (ed.), *Römische*

The notion had a comparable function in Galba's self-representation. In addition to the final ceremony at the Mausoleum, two episodes, the first in Spain and the second in Gaul, are relevant.

In Spain Galba's initial signal of revolt was given at a ceremony, which clearly had been carefully staged. Iulius Vindex, the leader of the insurrection in Gaul, had called upon Galba "to liberate mankind" from Nero's tyranny. As if in reply to this summons, Galba chose a day destined for the manumission of slaves to throw off his allegiance. On such occasions the traditional emblems of liberty, the magistrate's *vindicta* and the slave's *pilleus*, were on prominent display. Thus the revolt was from the very outset presented as a return to the *Libertas* of old.¹⁹

In the present context it is however equally significant that Galba made this announcement from a platform adorned with "as many images as he could find of those who had been condemned and put to death by Nero". While attacking Nero Galba bewailed the fate of these illustrious men – and to emphasize what had impelled him to take recourse to open revolt, an exiled noble had been brought to Carthago Nova from his island of confinement to stand at Galba's side. Audibly as well as visibly, the crowd was in this manner reminded of the bitter plight of the condemned.

By this symbolic gesture Galba pledged his faction to a policy of revenge and rehabilitation. Constrained by his moral sense of *pietas*, Galba had no choice but to throw off his allegiance.²⁰ But unlike such dynasts as Sextus Pompeius and Octavian, Galba did not assume this pledge on behalf of a murdered parent; instead, he took up arms to come to the aid of fellow citizens.

Wertbegriffe (Darmstadt 1967) 229–273; J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République* (Paris 1963) 276–279 and S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 248–259.

19 On the ceremony, see Suet. *Galba* 10; Plut. *Galba* 5.2. *humano generi ... assertorem*: Suet. *Galba* 9.2; *Libertas* and the Republic in the period's propaganda: C. M. Kraay, "The coinage of Vindex and Galba, A.D. 68", *NC* 1949, 129–149; id., *The Aes Coinage of Galba*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs 133 (New York 1956); P.-H. Martin, *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Christus* (Mainz 1974) 55–58; A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Galba's *aequitas*", *NC* 1981, 37–39 and P. Kragelund, *Prophecy, populism and propaganda in the 'Octavia'* (København 1982) 41–46. As for the anonymous coinage, P.-H. Martin presents strong arguments for a common Galban origin of the whole series; *contra*: C. H. V. Sutherland, *RIC I²* (London 1984) 217–219.

20 *Pietas* towards exiles: Cic. *De Or.* 2.167; Vell. 2.15.4 (Q. Caecilius Metellus towards his father): it earned Metellus the *cognomen* "Pius" and was celebrated on coins: M. Crawford, *RRC* (Cambridge 1974) no. 374; similarly, *ILS* 8393 = E. Wistrand (ed.), *The So-called Laudatio Turiae* (Göteborg 1976) col. ii.1 (a wife's *pietas* towards her proscribed husband); Ov. *Tr.* 1.7.11 (a friend's towards the exiled poet's image) and Sen. *Dial.* 12.4.2 (Helvia's towards her exiled son).

In the latter half of his reign Nero had fallen out with crucial sections of the senatorial aristocracy.²¹ Frictions within the dynasty, senatorial conspiracies and mutual mistrust had deepened the rift. The emperor's murders, his untraditional lifestyle and his demonstrative reliance on men of provincial and even servile origins clearly gave rise to resentment. Nero's freedmen and favourites had enriched themselves with the confiscated property of the condemned. They had been in charge of confiscations and extortions, and ultimately of Rome itself. Hatred long suppressed flared up once their master was gone.²²

Now revenge and a return to traditional values seemed within reach. Tacitus states that the news of Nero's fall was greeted with enthusiasm by the section of the *plebs* loyal to the aristocracy as well as by "the clients and freedmen of the condemned and the exiles". Of course Galba himself seems to have had only tenuous links to the martyrs of Nero's terror.²³ Despite claims to the contrary, there is for instance no evidence that Seneca had been the usurper's friend.²⁴ It is, however, not surprising to learn that exiles favoured the cause of Vindex as well as Galba. This was a group with a vested interest in Nero's downfall.²⁵

- 21 Nero and the aristocracy: E. Cizek, *L'époque de Néron et ses controverses idéologiques* (Leiden 1972) 141–145 and Griffin, *Nero* (as in n. 17) 115–118; the conflict probably influenced the selection of Arval Brethren (J. Scheid, *Les frères arvales* [Paris 1975] 294; 329) as well as the eponymous consuls, but the diminished number of aristocrats in high office may of course be due to more than one cause: J. R. Ginsburg, "Nero's consular policy", *AJAH* 6 (1981) 54–68.
- 22 The freedmen Polyclitus and Helius, who had supervised Nero's confiscations, were both executed: Tac. *Hist.* 1.37.5; Plut. *Galba* 17. The gladiator Spiculus was lynched (Plut. *Galba* 8.5); he had somehow obtained the confiscated possessions of *viri triumphales*: Suet. *Nero* 30.2; Nero's jester Vatinius had been a menace to his betters: Tac. *Ann.* 15.34.2; his death has traditionally been dated to the reign of Nero, but Tac. *Hist.* 1.37.5 clearly implies a Galban date: P. Kragelund, "Vatinius, Nero and Curiatius Maternus", *CQ* 37 (1987) 197–202.
- 23 *Pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti*: Tac. *Hist.* 1.4.3. Galba's links with the Stoics seem tenuous: Syme, "Partisans" (as in n. 7) 460; 479.
- 24 The friendship of Seneca and Galba: I. Lana, *L. A. Seneca* (Torino 1955) 109, Cizek, *L'époque* (as in n. 21) 227 and id., *Néron* (Paris 1982) 385 and C. Castillo, "Atti del colloquio ... su epigrafia e ordine senatorio II", *Tituli* 5 (Roma 1982) 490; Cizek suspects ensuing political implications for Galba's revolt in Spain. The fate of the Annaei may well have affected Spaniards, but the evidence for a friendship is non-existent: like the scholars above, A. Stein, *PIR*² A 617 adduced Plut. *Galba* 20, but the passage deals with Seneca and Otho.
- 25 Vindex and the exiles: Joann. Antioch., fr. 91 = Dio 63.23 (Boiss.). Galba and the exiles: n. 19 (the exiled youth on the day of his declaration); note also his energetic lieutenant, M. Antonius Primus (Tac. *Hist.* 2.86; Dio 65.9.3 [Boiss.]); his adopted heir Piso (*diu exul* Tac. *Hist.* 1.48) and the man who arranged his funeral: Plut. *Galba* 28.3. Even Otho was considered a kind of *exul* (thus a contemporary pasquinade: Suet. *Otho* 3.2 = *FPL* 133.6 [Morel]); likewise Tac. *Hist.* 1.21.

Paying homage to the images of those murdered or exiled by the tyrant was only one of the ways in which Galba advertised his concern for their plight. In addition to his amnesty of those condemned on charges of treason, his severity towards disloyal slaves and freedmen and his attempts to restore the old nobility to its pristine glory are fully in accordance with such a pious programme of restoration. In the hierarchal Roman society, such initiatives could count on a strongly emotional response.²⁶

Yet Galba also proved eager to emphasize his concern for provincials. In large parts of Spain and Gaul anti-Neronian sentiment seems to have run high on the eve of the revolt and in great numbers the provincials instantly rallied to the aid of the insurgents. Along with Galba's much advertised remission of toll throughout Gaul, the honours conferred upon men from Spain and Gaul were certainly intended to strengthen his backing among provincials.

In this context it is significant that Galba instituted *inferiae*, i.e. public funeral sacrifices, for his Gallic ally Vindex, who fell in battle shortly before the final victory. Galba's manifestation of *pietas* towards his comrade in arms doubtless appealed to the provincials and Gallic dynasts who had sided with Vindex and on whose support the usurper depended. By exalting Vindex, Galba pledged himself to set provincial grievances right.²⁷

On finally arriving in Rome, Galba continued the policy of revenge and rehabilitation. The two first consuls of the new regime acknowledged its backing among provincials and aristocrats: a *vir novus* from Gaul and a nondescript youth with a time-honoured name.²⁸ Executions and purges likewise seemed to promise a decisive break with the past. It was widely felt, however, that Nero's lowborn favorites and freedmen were singled out as scapegoats while the really powerful went free. Indignant, the crowds demanded the execution of Tigellinus, Nero's Prefect of the Guard, and in the Senate former exiles demanded revenge for Thrasea Paetus. In both cases Galba's faction held back. The purges, once let loose, might endanger the principate itself. Not that an isolated

26 The attempts to restore property (including slaves) to previous owners caused strife and discontent: Dio 63.34b (Boiss.); Plut. *Otho* 1.3; Tac. *Hist.* 1.90 and 2.92.2 (the exiles a *flebilis et egens ... turba*). K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius' 'Life of Nero'. An historical commentary* (Bruxelles 1978) ad chap. 43 argues that the exiles were too few to matter. Whatever their number, contemporaries clearly viewed things differently: H. Grassl, *Untersuchungen zum Vierkaiserjahr 68/9 n. Chr.* (Diss., Wien 1973) 12–26.

27 Galba and the provincials: Syme, "Partisans" (as in n. 7) 469–477. Public *inferiae* for Vindex: Plut. *Galba* 22.2; on the custom see e.g. Suet. *Claud.* 11.2 (under *officia pietatis*) and E. De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico* IV (Roma 1946) s. v. (*inferiae* for C. and L. Caesar, for Drusus and Germanicus). Vindex's backing: R. Syme, "Helvetian Aristocrats", *MH* 34 (1977) 129–140 = *Roman Papers* III (Oxford 1984) 986–997; some of Vindex's Gallic adherents followed Galba to Rome: Tac. *Hist.* 2.94.2.

28 Galba's consuls were C. Bellicus Natalis from Vienna and one P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (still in his twenties): Syme, "Partisans" (as in n. 7) 475.

republican like Helvidius Priscus presented any real danger. But questioning the legitimacy of the old regime *tout court* opened the doors to anarchy. Much safer therefore to compromise with the powers that be.²⁹

It is against this background that the usurper's legitimist emphasis on continuity gains in significance. In a sense, Galba's accession had of course confirmed the suspicions and fears of Nero and his predecessors: their true rivals stemmed from the old aristocracy. And granted these premisses, there were indeed few aristocrats left who could base their claim for the purple on a more impressive line. In his *atrium* the new emperor flaunted a stemma no less formidable than that of the old dynasty. As a consul of A.D. 68 later recalled, Galba's origins comprised Jupiter as well as Pasiphaë. A long series of his republican ancestors had excelled in warfare and the lawcourts. Towering above the Forum, the Tabularium and the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus were visible tokens of the services rendered to the *res publica* by his ancestor, Lutatius Catulus.

Galba indeed took great pride in the exploits of his ancestors. Suetonius claims that he officially styled himself *Q. Catuli Capitolini pronepos*. Till now this has not been confirmed by epigraphy, but a Galban coin, which has only recently been published, may represent the Capitoline temple rebuilt by his ancestor. In keeping with this respect for the great republican past, Galba initially made a point of styling himself the *legatus Senatus ac populi Romanus*. And even at the end, when the *princeps* was forced by circumstance to adopt an heir, his choice of Piso, the descendant of Pompey and Crassus, betrays an enduring (and unrealistic) faith in the prestige of the old aristocracy.³⁰

However, for all his reliance on ancestry and tradition, Galba had from early on accepted the necessity of adopting the nomenclature, *insignia* and *apparatus* of his Julio-Claudian predecessors. And once he had arrived in Rome, he made a point of continuing the cult of the respectable Julio-Claudians, Augustus, Livia and Claudius (by contrast sacrifices for Nero's deified spouse Poppaea were no longer on the Arval *agenda*). Again Galba's coinage provides illuminating parallels. From the coinage of the initial revolt down to the end of

29 Scapegoats: n. 7. Tigellinus: P. Kragelund, "The Prefect's Dilemma and the Date of the Octavia", *CQ* 38 (1988) 498–508 (with previous literature). Helvidius Priscus: Schol. Iuv. *Sat.* 5.36, *Helvidius ... post interfectum Neronem restitutus a Galba non aliter quam libero civitatis statu egit*; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.5 (Helvidius was later executed by Vespasian).

30 Atrium: Suet. *Galba* 2; consul of A.D. 68: Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 8.470–473. Republican ancestors: H. Jucker, "Der Ring des Kaisers Galba", *Chiron* 5 (1975) 356–364. F. S. Kleiner, "Galba and the Sullan Capitolium", *AJN* 1 (1989) 71–77 has plausibly identified the sanctuary depicted on an Alexandrian coin as Catulus' temple for Iupiter Optimus Maximus: A. Burnett, M. Amandry & P. P. Ripollès (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage I* (London 1992) nr. 5347. Galba's fondness for "Republican" slogans: Kragelund, *Prophecy* (as in n. 19) 47–48.

PLATE I



Sestertius from 68 A.D., Obv.



Sestertius from 68 A.D., Rev.

PLATE II



Sestertius from 37-38 A.D., Obv.



Sestertius from 37-38 A.D., Rev.

his reign *divus Augustus* and his divine consort were on constant display. Indeed, Galba's veneration for the old Augusta was so demonstrative, that an unwary historian mistook him for a true relative.³¹

It stands to reason, therefore, that this conservative rebel also took it upon himself to arrange for the burial of the members of the dynasty murdered by Nero. Such a ceremony provided a welcome opportunity to advertise his *pietas* towards the dynasty as such. Not Galba, but Nero, whom a contemporary pasquinade had vilified as the embodiment of *impietas*, had murdered his parents and brother, sisters and cousins, thereby bringing down the house of Augustus.³² However, Nero's reign had merely been an odious parenthesis. If not by blood, Galba was spiritually the true successor to the descendants of *pius Aeneas*.

II. The Numismatic Evidence

Galba's appropriation of the Augustan virtue of *pietas* is clearly reflected in his coinage.

Of the two (possibly three) coins in question one carries the legend SENATVS PIETATI AVGVSTI SC. Its reverse depicts a *togatus*, probably a senator, placing a wreath on the head of Galba.

The inscription has been variously interpreted. Bewildered, Harold Mattingly asked: "If applied to Galba, what does the legend mean?". Mattingly solved the problem by assuming that the coin, despite Galba's portrait, name and titles, formed part of a posthumous series issued in the first years of Vespasian. Not everyone favoured this hypothesis and Colin Kraay's analysis of the period's coinage made it clear that there is no reason for questioning its Galban origin.³³

31 Nomenclature: M. Fluss s. v. "Sulpicius Galba" *RE* IV A1 (1931) 782; apparatus: Plut. *Galba* 11. Imperial cult: *CIL* 6.1984 = *ILS* 5025 (appointment of an *Augustalis*); *AFA* (Henzen) xc: Galba sacrificing to Augustus, Livia and D[IVO CLAVDIO] on the third of January, A.D. 69. Livia: Suet. *Galba* 5.2; coinage: Kraay, *Coinage of Vindex* (as in n. 19) 148; Jucker, *Der Ring* (as in n. 30) 354–5; Plutarch got the impression that Galba was somehow related to the *Augusta*: *Galba* 3.2; 14.3.

32 *Quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem?/sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*: Suet. *Nero* 39.2 = *FPL* 132.1 (Morel); for contemporary attacks of a similar tenor, see Tac. *Ann.* 15.62.2 (Seneca's last words); 67.2 (Subrius Flavus cursing Nero as matri- and uxoricide).

33 SENATVS: *RIC* I² (Galba) no. 489. "what does the legend mean?": H. Mattingly, *BMCRE* I (London 1923) ccxvi; similarly, *NC* (1922) 196. For the historical and numismatic objections to a Flavian date, see J. Gagé, "Vespasien et la mémoire de Galba", *REA* 54 (1952) 307–308 and Kraay, *Aes Coinage* (as in n. 19) *passim*.

Yet the scope of the legend PIETAS is still in dispute. Kraay accepted that the coin in question celebrates the emperor's "respectful attitude" towards the Senate itself. Initially Galba had made a point of submitting his authority to that of the Senate. This reading has been widely accepted, most recently by C. H. V. Sutherland, in his authoritative re-edition of the first volume of *The Roman Imperial Coinage*.³⁴

For two reasons, the proposed interpretation is unlikely to be correct. Firstly, it is not easy to hit upon parallels in its support. What *pietas* traditionally denotes is devotion to gods, parents, *patria* and emperor. If a reminder were needed, the senators had the golden *clupeus* dedicated to Augustus by Senate and People in January B.C. 27 before their eyes. It was, as its inscription proclaimed, given to Augustus because of his *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and PIETATIS ERGA DEOS PATRIAMQVE. And in the Forum itself the recent statue of a model senator (thrice consul) praised his PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM. To be sure, such bonds were mutual, but to use the concept *pietas* when describing an emperor's (AVGVSTI) attitude towards the Senate would be abnormal.

The chaotic period after Nero's fall was, of course, itself anomalous, but by the time this coin was emitted, Galba had made it clear that his principate would continue on the model of the best of the Julio-Claudians. Within that framework *pietas* was what the Senate owed the emperor, not *vice versa*.³⁵

Secondly, the Romans had by Galba's day for more than a century grown accustomed to the often fulsome manifestations of *pietas* with which an emperor would honour his deceased relatives and predecessors. Throughout the

34 "Respectful attitude": thus Kraay, *Aes Coinage* (as in n. 19) 44 following C. H. Dodd, "The Cognomen of the Emperor Antoninus Pius", *NC* 1911, 25; the suggestion was endorsed by H. Jucker, "Hispania Clunia Sul. Zu einem Sesterz des Kaisers Galba", *SM* 15 (1965) 108 n. 103; I. Soncini, "Note sulla monetazione di Galba", *RIN* 73 (1971) 71–72; Sancery, *Galba* (as in n. 17) 103; D. Mannsperger, "ROM. ET AVG. Die Selbstdarstellung des Kaisertums in der römischen Reichsprägung", *ANRW* II.1 (1974) 962; Sutherland, *RIC* (as in n. 19) 230, C. Foss, *Roman historical coins* (London 1990) 72 and M. Zimmermann, "Die *restitutio honorum* Galbas", *Historia* 44 (1995) 75.

35 *Pietas* was a bond that went both ways: K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960) 40; A. Betz, "*Pietas deorum erga homines*. Zu CIL, III, 7954", *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu* (Bukarest 1960) 33–36; but in normal usage the emphasis on deference towards one's betters was clearly the norm. The golden *clupeus* in *curia Iulia*: Aug. *RG* 34; PIETATIS ERGA DEOS PATRIAMQVE: thus the copy found at Arles: *AE* 1952, 135. ERGA PRINCIPEM (L. Vitellius' statue at the *rostra*): Suet. *Vit.* 3; see also Tac. *Ann.* 3.51 and Suet. *Dom.* 11.3 (emperors acknowledging the Senate's *pietas*); Plin. *Pan.* 55.4 (Pliny's towards Trajan).

capital monuments recorded such initiatives.³⁶ These manifestations were particularly common at the beginning of a new reign.³⁷

Galba was in every sense a newcomer, but the beginnings of his principate conformed with tradition. From the very first there was emphasis on his *pietas*, towards Nero's victims, towards Vindex and towards the "true" representatives of the old dynasty. The gods had likewise benefited from his usurpation. Anxious to underline a contrast to Nero's *impietas*, Galba is for instance known to have restored the gold and silver images of the *dii Penates* which the sacrilegious tyrant had melted down. Perhaps the move was influenced by Galba's personal interest in the cult. There are indications that the Sulpicii Galbae somehow claimed descent from Lavinium, the sacred cradle of Rome. In any case Galba would also in other respects ensure that "the *res publica* should not in future be harmed by Nero's sacrilege".³⁸ So even if it is hardly possible to determine precisely which aspect this coin-legend extols, it is a natural assumption that it reflects what the propaganda of the rebels presented as the fundamental contrast between the deposed tyrant and the new *princeps*.

As for the other occurrences of the PIETAS slogan in Galba's coinage, one of the coins in question is too insecurely documented to command unreserved confidence; nor is the representation on its obverse of an enthroned figure helpful in determining what the implications of the slogan might possibly be. Yet whatever the credentials of this type, the suggestion that it might "allude specially to his impending adoption of Piso" can safely be discarded. Imperial adoptions were applauded as instances of *providentia*, not *pietas*.³⁹

36 Celebration of Augustus' *pietas* set the pattern: P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München 1987) 96–103 (the golden *clupeus*); 198–213 (*Forum Augustum*); of post-Augustan monuments, see n. 12 (triumphal arches for Germanicus); n. 43 (temple for *divus Augustus*) and *CIL* 6.562 = *ILS* 202 (Claudius' *Ara Pietatis* for Livia); as for the latter, G. M. Koepfel, "Die *Ara Pietatis Augustae*: ein Geisterbau", *MDAI(R)* 89 (1982) 453–455 makes a strong case against assuming that the reliefs in the Villa Medici came from this structure.

37 Pious beginnings: Suet. *Tib.* 70.3 (day of accession); n. 12 (Gaius); *Claud.* 11.2 and *Nero* 9 (Claudius' funeral and deification); Pliny's first letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.1) extols the latter's *pietas* towards Nerva.

38 Nero's confiscations: Suet. *Nero* 32.4; Galba ordered Agricola to inquire into misappropriations of temple treasure, *ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset*: Tac. *Agr.* 6.5. The *Penates* and the *Sulpicii*: the coin of C. Sulpicius (Galba) from 106 B.C. with the sow and heads of the *Penates*; the cult was associated with Lavinium, "presumably the *origo* of the moneyer": Crawford, *RRC* (as in n. 20) no. 312. On the cult, see A. Dubourdieu, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Pénates à Rome* (Roma 1989).

39 The (forged?) Galban denarius with the legend PIETATI AVGVSTI is known only from a catalogue from 1615: Sutherland, *RIC* (as in n. 19) 243 (who suggests it might allude to the impending adoption of Piso). Adoptions and *providentia*: J. Scheid & H. Broise, "Deux nouveaux fragments des actes des frères Arvales de l'année 38 ap. J.-C.", *MEFRA*

The third of the relevant coins is better attested. The specimen preserved in Paris is of course badly worn and has at some point been pierced, probably to fasten it to something, but its legibility has not been seriously impaired (Plate I, 1). Its reverse carries the legend PIETAS AVGVSTI S C and displays a veiled personification identifiable as *Pietas*. In her right hand she holds what seems to be an *acerra*; she is sacrificing at an altar adorned with the classic triad, Aeneas, Anchises and little Iulus. Behind the altar a bull or cow is discernible.⁴⁰

Here again hardly anything links the emblem with specific events. The altar is unidentifiable and there is no way of determining whether or not the sacrificial victim is a *bos mas*, the prescribed victim to Divus Augustus.⁴¹

On a general level, the emblem and legend are however closely in tune with Galba's policy. And the decoration of the goddess' altar seems, more specifically, to reflect his reverential attitude towards the divine founders of the dynasty which claimed descent from Anchises, Aeneas and Iulus.⁴²

Unfortunately there are no means for determining the relative chronology of this emission on the one hand and the solemn *inferiae* for the members of the dynasty murdered by Nero on the other. However, Galba's continuing the imperial cult and his demonstrative reverence for the deified Augusta suffice to render the emblem intelligible.

To conclude: The coins celebrating Galba's *pietas* had hardly anything to do with the usurper's attitude towards the Senate. As at previous such junctures, the re-emergence of the PIETAS slogan stems from attempts to assert the legitimacy of a newcomer.

92 (1980) 234–235 (a sacrifice at the Altar of *Providentia* on the anniversary of Tiberius' adoption); similarly, *AFA* (Henzen) xci: a sacrifice to *Providentia* on the day of Piso's adoption in Jan. A.D. 69; on the concept, see R. T. Scott, "*Providentia Aug.*", *Historia* 31 (1982) 436–459 (with previous literature).

40 *RIC I*² (Galba) no. 483; a note on p. 255 (similarly p. 230) describes it as "the only known specimen ... but in all probability authentic". However, Jucker, *Der Ring* (as in n. 30) 355 n. 37 quotes a second exemplar, in an Italian private collection. On the iconography, see Liegle, *Pietas* (as in n. 18) 59–61, according to whom *Pietas* holds nothing in her "offene Rechte", but as Ittai Gradel has informed me, the object's horizontal form corresponds with traditional representations of an *acerra*; and the characteristic 'dew-drops' on its neck identify the object behind the altar as an ox or cow.

41 Like Kraay, *Aes Coinage* (as in n. 19) 43, I consider the gender of the sacrificial victim unidentifiable. Weinstock, *Divus* (as in n. 18) 253 and Jucker, *Der Ring* (as in n. 30) 356 suggested a reference to an otherwise unattested dedication; the *Ara gentis Iuliae* was much used under Galba and Vespasian for affixing *diplomata* (*CIL* 16.7–17 + *AE* 1985, 770) but even if the iconography presumably fits, the dynasty's altar was hardly as modest as the structure seen on the coin.

42 The Galban coin as a reference to the old dynasty: Liegle, *Pietas* (as in n. 18) 65; Gagé, "Vespasien" (as in n. 33) 309; Kraay, *Aes Coinage* (as in n. 19) 43; Jucker, *Hispania Clunia* (as in n. 34) 108; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 7 and Foss, *Historical Coins* (as in n. 34) 72.

Again the reign of Gaius provides an illuminating parallel. Soon after his accession in A.D. 37 Gaius dedicated the temple of Divus Augustus. The sestertius celebrating the event carries the legend PIETAS. While its obverse displays the goddess herself, its reverse shows the young emperor while sacrificing in front of his ancestor's temple; on its pediment statues of Romulus as well as Aeneas with Anchises are clearly discernible (Plate II). Thus the imagery links past and present. While the architectural framework echoes the *divus*' celebration of his own *pietas*, the representation of Gaius' sacrifice stresses the continuity. The youth was a worthy successor of his ancestors.

When in A.D. 68 the PIETAS slogans re-emerged (for the first time since Gaius) the imagery was different. Instead of topographical reality Galba's coins offer allegory and personification. The historical background is moreover fundamentally different. The old dynasty was by now extinct.

Yet despite obvious differences, the message conveyed by these two emissions – and, more importantly, by the pageantry of which they are but feeble echoes – is in crucial aspects similar. Like that of Gaius, Galba's display of *pietas* advertised, or asserted, his right to succeed. When fulfilling the sacred obligations of a family-member, Galba was virtually performing a "self-adoption", thereby appropriating Nero's position within the dynasty for himself.⁴³

III. Which of Nero's Victims?

Galba's burial of Nero's victims provides a significant contrast to the funeral of Nero himself. Galba's freedman Icelus had wisely ensured that Nero's corpse was protected from the extremes of humiliation which traditionally befell a *hostis publicus*. While the tyrant himself had denied even his closest relatives a proper funeral, Icelus allowed faithful members of the imperial household to inter their master. By imperial standards the funeral was modest, with little to evoke the emperor's former splendour. Of the trappings of power all that remained was the consular dress. Moreover, a burial in the Mausoleum was no longer considered Nero's right. Instead, his ashes were deposited in the tomb of the Domitii Ahenobarbi. According to the propaganda of the rebels, they, rather than the Iulio-Claudians, were the tyrant's true ancestors. *Nero Domitius* had usurped what truly belonged to his victims. Now

43 *RIC* I² (Gaius) no. 36; dedication of Augustus' temple: Barrett, *Caligula* (as in n. 15) 69–70; chronology of Gaius' coinage: H.-M. von Kaenel, "Die Organisation der Münzprägung Caligulas", *SchwNR* 66 (1987) 135–159. On Galba's "self-adoption" (foreshadowing what Severus actually did), see Kraay, *Aes coinage* (as in n. 19) 43 and Sutherland, *RIC* (as in n. 19) 230.

Nero's successor ensured that the balance was redressed. They joined *their* ancestors, Domitius *his*.⁴⁴

By denying 'Domitius Nero' a burial in the Mausoleum, Galba's faction was by no means innovative. Even small-town patriarchs were keen on exercising their rightful control over family tombs; if his dear spouse would not behave, Trimalchio threatened to do without her in the hereafter. Other differences apart, Augustus had in matters of burial been equally severe. While his two in-laws, Marcellus and Agrippa, were granted a burial in the family tomb, the emperor's last will stipulated that his immoral daughter and granddaughter should have no share in such honours. Augustus' successors had been equally zealous in upholding the distinction between the worthy and unworthy.⁴⁵

The question arises, therefore, to which of Nero's victims Galba may conceivably have paid such signal homage.

There are no easy answers to this question. On Nero's accession, the imperial family was disturbingly numerous. And since Augustus himself had allowed members of other *gentes* a burial in his family tomb, it would be unwise *a priori* to exclude even his remoter descendants. The Iunii Silani are a distinct possibility. The family's descent from Augustus proved fatal to all the men of its last generation. Nero's reign had commenced with the murder of Marcus Iunius Silanus and the male line perished during the terror in A.D. 64 and 65. To be sure, the Silani doubtless possessed a family tomb. However, an anecdote in Suetonius may indicate that at least one of the Silani had been buried in the Mausoleum. In A.D. 79 when its doors miraculously were thrown open, the dying Vespasian jokingly dismissed the relevance of the *omen* for himself – but being the last of Augustus' descendants old Iunia Calvina had better beware!

Vespasian was of course mistaken. Soon his ashes were deposited in the Mausoleum (whence they were later transferred to the Temple of the Flavian *gens* built by Domitian).

44 Nero's funeral ran up to a "mere" 200,000 sesterces, Vespasian's to 10,000,000: Suet. *Nero* 50; *Vesp.* 19.2. As for the nickname, 'Domitius', Nero's paternal descent was brought up against him during the revolt: Suet. *Nero* 41; from the following decade, note [Sen.] *Oct.* 249 (*Nero insitivus, Domitio genitus patre*) and Pliny's hybrid, *Domitius Nero* (*NH*, repeatedly); to judge from Tac. *Dial.* 3.4 and 11.2, *Domitius* may have been the alternative title of Curiatius Maternus' anti-Neronian drama *Nero*: Kragelund, *Vatinius* (as in n. 22) 200.

45 On the known, probable and possible candidates for a burial in the Mausoleum, the reader is referred to the magisterial survey by Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 72–88. Petr. *Sat.* 74.17: *nolo statuam eius (sc. Fortunatae) in monumento meo ponas, ne mortuus quidem lites habeam*; on the legal issues, see G. Klingenberg, s. v. "Grabrecht", *RAC* 12 (1983) 613. Marcellus the GENER [A]VGVSTI CAESARIS: Hesberg/Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 10) 88–95; Agrippa's tomb, Dio 54.28.5 (Boiss.); remains of the latter's proper tomb: E. La Rocca, *La Riva a mezzaluna* (Roma 1984) 95; Augustus' daughter and granddaughter: Suet. *Aug.* 101.3.

As for old Iunia Calvina, she was perhaps entitled to a funeral in the tomb of her ancestor. But ideals and realities rarely correspond; despite his burial elsewhere, similar *omina* are said to have announced the death of Nero. And even if Iunia did benefit from Flavian generosity, this does not prove that her brothers and nephew had been granted access, once Nero fell from power.⁴⁶

However, even in the absence of positive evidence, six of Nero's victims deserve particular attention. In chronological order: his brother Britannicus (murdered in A.D. 54), his mother Agrippina (murdered in A.D. 59), his cousin Rubellius Plautus, his brother-in-law Faustus Cornelius Sulla, his sister-wife, Octavia (all three murdered in A.D. 62) and finally his sister Antonia (murdered in or soon after A.D. 66).

Britannicus was undoubtedly the most illustrious victim of Nero's early reign. According to Tacitus, Britannicus had been interred *in campo ... Martis*. This may of course refer to the less prestigious *Ustrinum* rather than the Mausoleum. At a similar juncture, this was where Gaius' murdered co-heir, Tiberius Gemellus, had been buried. Given Nero's wish to belittle the dynastic claim of his stepbrother, he may well have done likewise. In any case Britannicus' funeral was considered a modest and hurried affair. In an edict invoking ancestral custom Nero subsequently dismissed the charges. However, *qui s'excuse s'accuse*. Even if the evidence is lacking, one may safely assume that Nero's adversaries turned the tale of such negligence against him. Titus is known to have paid homage to the memory of Claudius' son (at one point his school-mate). It is not unlikely, therefore, that Galba, on whom Claudius had lavished high honours, also somehow emphasized that the purple by right had been Britannicus' rather than Nero's.⁴⁷

As for Nero's mother, **Agrippina**, the evidence is clearer. She is unlikely to have been included in Galba's ceremony. Subsequent to her condemnation as a *hostis publicus* in A.D. 59 a large-scale campaign of defamation had been mounted against her. Her inscriptions had been effaced, her images destroyed

46 Dynastic problems: Griffin, *Nero* (as in n. 17) 189–196 (with prev. bibliography); on the fate of M., D. and L. Iunius Silanus, see Tac. *Ann.* 13.1; 15.35; 16.7. A family member was buried at Grottaferrata (n. 50), and a *columbarium* for their slaves was found off the *Via Appia*: *CIL* 6.7600–7643. The epitaph (?) of a Iunia Silana betrothed to a son of Germanicus may stem from the Mausoleum or the Ustrinum: *CIL* 6.914. The burial of Vespasian and Iunia Calvina: Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 142–144; Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4 reports the joke, Suet. *Nero* 46.2 the *omina* concerning Nero.

47 Galba and Vespasian went out of their way to emphasize their sense of duty as opposed to Nero's negligence: E. S. Ramage, "Denigration of predecessor under Claudius, Galba and Vespasian", *Historia* 32 (1983) 201–214. Posthumous honours for Britannicus: Suet. *Tit.* 2; on the coinage, J. Babelon, "Numismatique de Britannicus", *Hommages Herrmann* (Bruxelles 1960) 124–137; on his burial and Nero's edict, Tac. *Ann.* 13.17. On the tomb of Tiberius Gemellus and the function of the *Ustrinum* (*CIL* 6.892 = *ILS* 172) see now Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 155; 148–161.

and her burial perfunctory. It was only when her son fell from power that faithful members of her household were able to honour their obligations. They raised a “modest monument” above Misenum to their former patron. It therefore seems implausible that Galba’s ceremony in Rome should have included the ashes of Nero’s mother. Indeed, it would be surprising, if it had: Galba’s career pattern goes far in suggesting that his relations with that formidable lady had always been strained.⁴⁸

By contrast, **Rubellius Plautus** is a figure likely to have appealed strongly to those who mattered in Galba’s Rome. Plautus had strong links with the Stoic faction which suffered under the tyrant. Moreover, as the great-grandson of Tiberius he held a rival claim to the throne. Both these bonds had inevitably aroused Nero’s suspicion. Hence Plautus’ exile to Asia Minor, where he was murdered in A.D. 62. His execution had a serious aftermath, with a series of condemnations in A.D. 65, but after Nero’s fall Plautus’ friends and allies returned to favour. At least to one of them it proved an advantage that Laco, Galba’s Prefect of the Guard, somehow had known Plautus. It was in the house of Plautus that Laco befriended the young Calpurnius Piso, whom he later insisted that Galba should adopt. Nothing suggests however that any of the Rubellii Plauti were buried in the Mausoleum.⁴⁹

Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix was another victim of the purge in A.D. 62. His marriage to Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, his status as a *gener Augusti* and his ancestry from Octavia, the sister of Augustus, had all aroused Nero’s suspicions – all of it is likely to have counted strongly with those organizing the funeral in A.D. 68. With his ‘great name’, Sulla evoked the ‘republican’ traditions to which Galba attached such excessive importance. And imperial in-laws had from time to time been buried with the family of their wives.⁵⁰

After these more or less possible candidates the list finally reaches the victims whose credentials must have been above discussion.

The first is **Antonia**, the eldest daughter of the deified Claudius and the wife of Sulla Felix.

48 Cf. the lament of Agrippina’s ghost in [Sen.] *Oct.* 609–11: *saevit in nomen ferus/matris tyrannus, obrui meritum cupit/simulacra, titulos destruit. A levem tumulum* at Misenum after A.D. 68: Tac. *Ann.* 14.9. Galba and Agrippina: M. T. Griffin, *Seneca* (Oxford 1976) 243.

49 R. Syme, “The marriage of Rubellius Plautus”, *AJPh* 103 (1982) 62–85 = *Roman Papers* IV (Oxford 1988) 177–198. The condemnation of Plautus’ friends and relatives: Tac. *Ann.* 15.71.4; 16.10. Laco, Piso and Plautus: Tac. *Hist.* 1.14.

50 Sulla Felix: C. Ehrhardt, “Messalina and the succession to Claudius”, *Antichthon* 12 (1978) 51–77 (with prev. bibliography). Of the imperial in-laws, Marcellus and Agrippa are recorded among the burials (n. 45). Even in disgrace Claudius’ in-laws, Pompeius Magnus (*CIL* 6.31722 = *ILS* 955, from the suburban tomb of his family) and Silanus (*CIL* 14.2500 = *ILS* 957, from Grottaferrata), proudly emphasized the link.

Antonia's death was within recent memory. She too was a victim of Nero's fears and suspicions. Antonia held a dynastic claim, a fact which Nero and his opponents fully appreciated. One version has it that Nero planned to marry her after the death of Poppaea, another that she was somehow involved in the Pisonian conspiracy in A.D. 65.⁵¹ In any case she was executed subsequent to the conspiracy, apparently on the charge of treason.

As for Antonia's sister, **Claudia Octavia**, her innocence and popularity with the urban *plebs* rendered her an ideal candidate. Subsequent to their divorce in A.D. 62 Nero had exiled Octavia to Pandataria, where she was soon executed. Her rehabilitation was for a number of reasons an obvious rallying point for anyone wishing to denigrate Nero.

Octavia's fall had coincided with the imperial elevation of her rival, Poppaea. Within a year of the wedding, Poppaea had become Augusta, and though her death in A.D. 65 was premature, posthumous honours had been abundant. While Octavia's lot had been charges of adultery, followed by exile and decapitation, Poppaea had been accorded an elogium in the Forum and burial in the Mausoleum. On top of it all came the deification and even a sanctuary. Poppaea's posthumous glory did not, however, survive her consort. Galba's reign saw a complete reversal, probably overnight. In January A.D. 69, when Otho acceded to the throne, Poppaea's statues were no longer on public display.

To throw evil into relief, a contrast was needed. Octavia was an obvious choice. Only six years prior to Nero's fall, Octavia's clients had been rioting to ensure that Nero would dismiss Poppaea so that Claudius' daughter retained her "share in the Empire". The riots had been put down with force.⁵²

Loyal *pietas* was however still a cherished virtue. There were precedents for granting women of the Julio-Claudian house a public funeral in the "most sacred area of all", the *Campus Martius*.⁵³ Galba's faction and the clients of the

51 Antonia and Octavia the most likely candidates for a burial: Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 83; 86. Antonia and Nero: Suet. *Nero* 35.4. On the designs of the conspirators against Nero, Tacitus quotes Pliny the Elder, but is himself sceptical: *Ann.* 15.53.3.

52 Octavia: *PIR*² C 1110; on Poppaea, see e.g. *RE* 22.1 (1953) 85–86. Poppaea's statues replacing Octavia's in A.D. 62: [Sen.] *Oct.* 683–686 and Tac. *Ann.* 14.61; their re-erection in A.D. 69: *Hist.* 1.78.2. *debitam partem imperi*: [Sen.] *Oct.* 790. Riots in Octavia's favour: [Sen.] *Oct.* 665–668; 780–855 and Tac. *Ann.* 14.60.5–61.

53 The *Campus a ἱεροπρεπέστατον ... τόπον*: Strabo 5.3.8. F. Vollmer, "De funere publico Romanorum", *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Suppl.* 19 (1893) 321–327 lists Atia, Livia, Drusilla and Poppaea; L. Cozza, "Le tegole di marmo del Pantheon", *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale*, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl.* X (1983) 111 publishes a fragment of a Julio-Claudian *Senatus consultum* concerning the burial of a woman (doubtless a member of the dynasty) in the *Campus Martius*; La Rocca, *La riva* (as in n. 45) 99 suggests that it refers to Caesar's daughter, but the options are numerous.

Claudian house would have had a common interest in ensuring that the murdered empress was finally accorded her due.

As for the actual burial, there is no precise evidence. Nero's victims had died at Rome, on the islands to which they had been banished and in distant Massilia and Asia Minor. Their ashes had been scattered, perhaps irretrievably. However, cenotaphs and burials *in effigie* had long since been established as valid substitutes. Whatever the details, precedents suggest that the efforts to perpetuate their memory involved epitaphs in the inner sanctum, altars and *elogia* in marble or bronze on the Mausoleum's facade or on *cippi* in the sacred area around it. There these new *testimonia pietatis* would join imperial *res gestae* and senatorial decrees concerning ceremonies to be observed, statues to be erected and religious functions to be forever repeated.⁵⁴

What remains of these funerary testimonials has now been edited, much of it for the first time. Among the "new" fragments a large slab with letters 22 centimetres high preserves the letters [---?]OC[---]. A reference to an Octavia? Since the open space prior to the O is 12,5 centimetres wide, the editor may well be right in concluding that the fragment refers to a person; but if that is the case it is hardly to CLAUDIA OCTAVIA (as she was officially called), but rather to one of Augustus's sisters.⁵⁵

To summarize: Galba's efforts to set himself up as the pious successor of the true Julio-Claudians left little that endured: a note in a Byzantine epitome and a pair of coins. The backlash was quick and violent. Galba was murdered some six months after Nero's fall. To obtain redress, a member of Nero's household got hold of Galba's severed head and deposited the trophy on the tomb of a fellow freedman, whom the usurper had executed. There it remained until one of the exiles restored by Galba prevailed upon Rome's new masters to grant a proper burial. Events had seemingly come full circle. Now Otho allowed Nero's rehabilitation, and along with statues of the empress Poppaea, those of Nero were for a brief while re-erected.

54 Imperial cenotaphs: P. Herz in J. Ganzert, "Das Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar in Limyra", *IstForsch* 35 (1984) 178–192. *testimonium pietatis*: Val. Max. 6.8.6 (the inscription of a tomb); Augustus' bronze *Indicem rerum ... gestarum* in front of his Mausoleum: Suet. *Aug.* 101.4; in addition to the inscriptions on the façade, the *Tabula Siarensis* (n. 12) fr. 2 col. a mentions altars and inscribed bronze *cippi* in honour of Gaius and Lucius as well as Germanicus; their location was mentioned in a *lacuna* – surely it was at the Mausoleum: W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 36; J. Arce, "La *Tabula Siarensis* y los funerales imperiales", Gonzales & Arce, *Estudios* (as in n. 12) 47 and Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 121.

55 The urn and epitaph of Augustus' sister: Panciera, *Mausoleum* (as in n. 13) 91–95. On the new fragment (= *CIL* 6. 40381), *ibidem* 165; for the full name of Nero's wife, see *PIR*² C 1110; however, in the inscriptions of her freedmen she is merely OCTAVIA: *ILS* 1786, 1788 and 8120 (the latter is post-Neronian).

Otho's fall changed nothing in this respect. Vitellius had from the very first adopted a similarly pro-Neronian stance. The splendid celebrations of his first (and only) birthday as emperor included a sacrifice to Nero's *manes* at an altar erected *medio Campi Marti*. As at previous such imperial *inferiae*, the *augustales* officiated. Viewed as a measure to counter Galba's ceremony, the move was equally legitimist – and it proved equally short-lived. By then Vespasian's army was already marching on Rome. In the train of the Flavian advance, statues of Galba were re-erected in many an Italian town. And as soon as the Flavians were masters of Rome the Senate decreed similar honours for Galba and Piso. Initially the new dynasty accepted, and even encouraged, such loyalty, but for obvious reasons enthusiasm soon petered out. Once in power the Flavians dynasty favoured comparison with more illustrious reigns than that of the short-lived usurper from Spain.⁵⁶

IV. '*Simulacra ... mortalia ... forma mentis aeterna*'

"Images perish, but the soul is eternal". Only few dedications to Nero's victims have been preserved, hardly any in their original context.⁵⁷ In literature the situation is different. The all-pervasive process of denigration and rehabilitation strongly influenced a number of genres. Along with pamphlets, invective and memoirs discrediting the past and praising the new dispensation, the re-edition of writings which had offended the tyrant was common. As Seneca had once observed, the *pietas* of an editor ensured that "the dead are vindicated from true death".

Now it was Seneca himself who benefited from such devotion. In Nero's last years some of his writings had allegedly been under a cloud, but once the tyrant was gone, the philosopher's fame was again extolled. In the early seventies, when Quintilian started teaching in Rome, the young barely read anyone but Seneca. Some fifty years later the story of his bravery in the face of

56 Galba: at Patrobius' tomb (or at the *Sessorium* where Patrobius was executed): Tac. *Hist.* 1.49; Plut. *Galba* 28.3. Otho, Nero and Poppaea: Cluvius Rufus, *HRF*, fr. 3; Tac. *Hist.* 1.78.2. Vitellius' sacrifice: Tac. *Hist.* 2.95; Suet. *Vit.* 11; J. Arce, *Funus imperatorum. Los funerales de los imperadores romanos* (Madrid 1988) 76 rightly dismisses Hirschfeld's idea that Vitellius transferred Nero's ashes to the Mausoleum. Galba's statues in Italian towns: Tac. *Hist.* 3.7.2; at Rome: 4. 40 (on Domitian's suggestion and with the Senate's approval). Vespasian cancelled the latter decree: Suet. *Galba* 23; on Vespasian's attitude, see Gagé, *Vespasien* (as in n. 33) and Zimmermann, *Restitutio* (as in n. 34).

57 *simulacra mortalia*: Tac. *Agr.* 46.3; some of the statues and portraits depicting Octavia (S. Sande, "Römische Frauenporträts mit Mauerkrone", *Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, Acta* ser. 2, 5 [1985] 206–245 and R. Bol, "Ein Bildnis der Claudia Octavia", *JDAI(R)* 101 [1986] 289–307) may stem from a post-Neronian rehabilitation.

death was still so well known that Tacitus considered it superfluous to repeat the details.⁵⁸

The conspiracy against Nero in A.D. 65 had likewise cost Seneca's nephew, Lucan, his life. Here too, tension had been mounting. Some years previously, Nero had vetoed the publication of Lucan's epic on the Civil Wars, but the poem was edited *in extenso* as soon as the poet-emperor fell from power; by the mid-seventies Lucan was considered a classic on a par with Virgil and Horace. The tradition may soon have become current that the *Bellum civile* is a veiled attack on the dynasty founded by Caesar.⁵⁹ So did similar rumours, now that writers and editors felt free – or induced – to dissociate themselves from all that Nero had represented.⁶⁰

The history of the recent past was now rewritten. The result was doubtless biased, but it also brought out facts which had hitherto been suppressed. Exiles had returned to confirm or reveal the truth about conspiracies. Widows, daughters and in-laws would re-edit or commission hagiographical memoirs on the lives and *exitus* of those who had suffered under the tyrant.⁶¹ Such narratives with their emphasis on defiant bravery and last words seem to have left a clear mark on Tacitus' narrative.⁶²

58 *A vera illum vindicasti morte*: Sen. *Dial.* 6.1.3 (on Marcia's re-edition of Cremutius Cordus). On the hiding of Seneca's works, see the (authentic?) report in Dio 62.25.2 (Boiss.); in any case Nero clearly suffered from literary jealousy: Griffin, *Nero* (as in n. 17) 160; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.52.3. *tum autem solus hic (sc. Seneca) fere in manibus adolescentium fuit*: Quint. 10.1.25. Seneca's *exitus*: Tac. *Ann.* 15.63.3.

59 Lucan, Virgil and Horace: Tac. *Dial.* 20.5 (dramatic date c. A.D. 74); Lucan's widow was doubtless involved in the posthumous edition of his epic; she continued to cultivate his fame: Stat. *Silv.* 2.7; Mart. 7.21–23 (both poets attack Nero for murdering Lucan).

60 Pliny the Elder claimed to have avoided controversial subjects in Nero's last years when *omne studiorum genus paulo liberior et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset* (Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.5); and according to a scholiast, Persius' first satire was altered in order not to offend Nero (*Schol. Pers.* 1.121). The tradition is challenged by Griffin, *Nero* (as in n. 17) 156–157 and accepted by J. P. Sullivan, *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Nero* (Ithaca/London 1985) 100–114. Whatever the truth, the story is unlikely to have been made public prior to Nero's fall: it originated with Persius' mentor, Cornutus, a Stoic exiled by Nero.

61 Exiles confirming rumours about conspiracies after Nero's fall: Tac. *Ann.* 15.73.2. When exiled, Helvidius Priscus' widow Fannia preserved for posterity "the cause of her exile", the biography of her husband written by Senecio (Plin. *Ep.* 7.19.6). Such works were re-edited soon after the fall of Domitian (Tac. *Agr.* 2.2 and Plin. *Ep.* 1.5.2) when filial *pietas* likewise persuaded Tacitus to write his *Agricola*: *Agr.* 3.3 (with Richmond-Ogilvie *ad loc.*).

62 Fannius' three books on the *Exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone*: Plin. *Ep.* 5.5.3; for a similar work, *Ep.* 8.12.4; for the genre's influence on Tacitus, the classic paper by F. A. Marx, "Tacitus und die Literatur der *exitus illustrium virorum*", *Philologus* 92 (1937) 83–103.

But also works of other genres bear the stamp of this trend. At some point after Nero's death⁶³ an anonymous admirer of Seneca wrote a historical drama on the murders of Plautus, Sulla and the empress Octavia in A.D. 62. In this play Seneca, Octavia and the ghost of Agrippina are – as it were – brought on stage to bear witness against the tyrant.

Internal evidence suggests that this vigorous condemnation of Nero's *impietas*⁶⁴ was written fairly soon after his fall, during the anti-Neronian reign of Galba or in the first years of the Flavians.⁶⁵ But whatever its precise date, the playwright's purpose seems obvious: Whether on bronze, on stone or on papyrus, a tribute to the victims of tyranny was considered an *officium pietatis*.

List of Illustrations

Plate I. Sestertius from 68 A.D.

Obv.: Galba's head, laureate. Legend: SER SVLPI GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG TR P.

Rev.: Pietas, holding an *acerra* in her right, sacrifices at altar adorned with a relief of Aeneas, Anchises and Iulus; behind the altar the sacrificial victim. Legend: PIETAS AVGVSTI SC. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Plate II. Sestertius from 37–38 A.D.

Obv.: Pietas, veiled and draped, holding *patera*. Legends: PIETAS AND C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS P M TR POT.

Rev.: Gaius sacrificing at altar in front of the temple of Divus Augustus. Legend: DIVO AVG SC. Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Copenhagen.

University of Aarhus

Patrick Kragelund

- 63 The manuscripts identify the playwright with Seneca, but style and above all chronology speak against: cf. e.g. Kragelund, *Prophecy* (as in n. 19) 35–36 and O. Zwielerlein, *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien Senecas* (Mainz 1986) 445–446 (with previous bibliography).
- 64 When Agrippina and Nero moved in, *Sancta Pietas* fled the imperial Palace: [Sen.] *Oct.* 160; under Nero *Scelera regnant, saevit Impietas* (432); indeed, *pietas* is helpless (286, 674), the goddess has lost all power: *nullum Pietas nunc numen habet* (911). But prophecies (391ff.; 614ff. and 718ff.) confirm, that revenge would soon triumph and *Pietas* return.
- 65 As for the *terminus ante*, the assumption that Tacitus was used as a source does not seem cogent: O. Zwielerlein, *Gnomon* 64 (1992) 506 (reviewing M. Billerbeck). The dramatist clearly wrote while Seneca's style was still highly esteemed (i.e. hardly later than Quintilian's *Institutiones*). The emphasis on Nero's hatred of the *populus* is in significant respects similar to the propaganda of the early revolt in A.D. 68: Kragelund, *Prophecy* (as in n. 19) 38–54. Despite Cizek, *L'époque* (as in n. 21) 7, publication under Otho is implausible: like Vitellius, Otho went far in rehabilitating Nero: n. 56. While some prefer an early Flavian date, the absence of references to the Civil Wars and to the Flavian victory may well suggest a publication prior to the fall of Galba: Kragelund, "Prefect's Dilemma" (as in n. 29) 506–507 (with bibliography); the portrait of the Praetorian Prefect points in the same direction: T. D. Barnes, "The Date of the *Octavia*", *MH* 39 (1982) 215–217 and Sullivan, *Poetry* (as in n. 60) 72.